

Germany's town halls

18 October 1981
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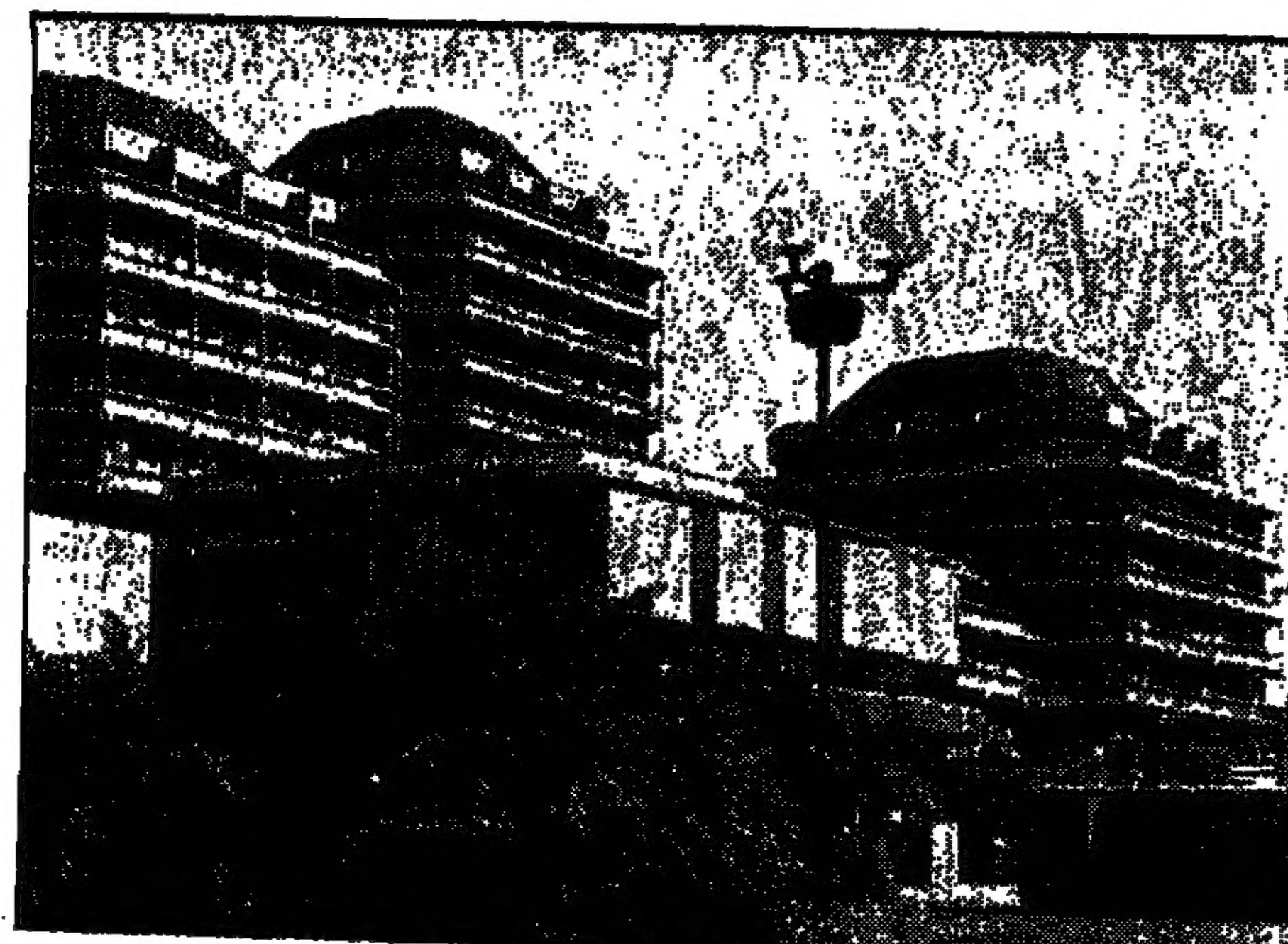
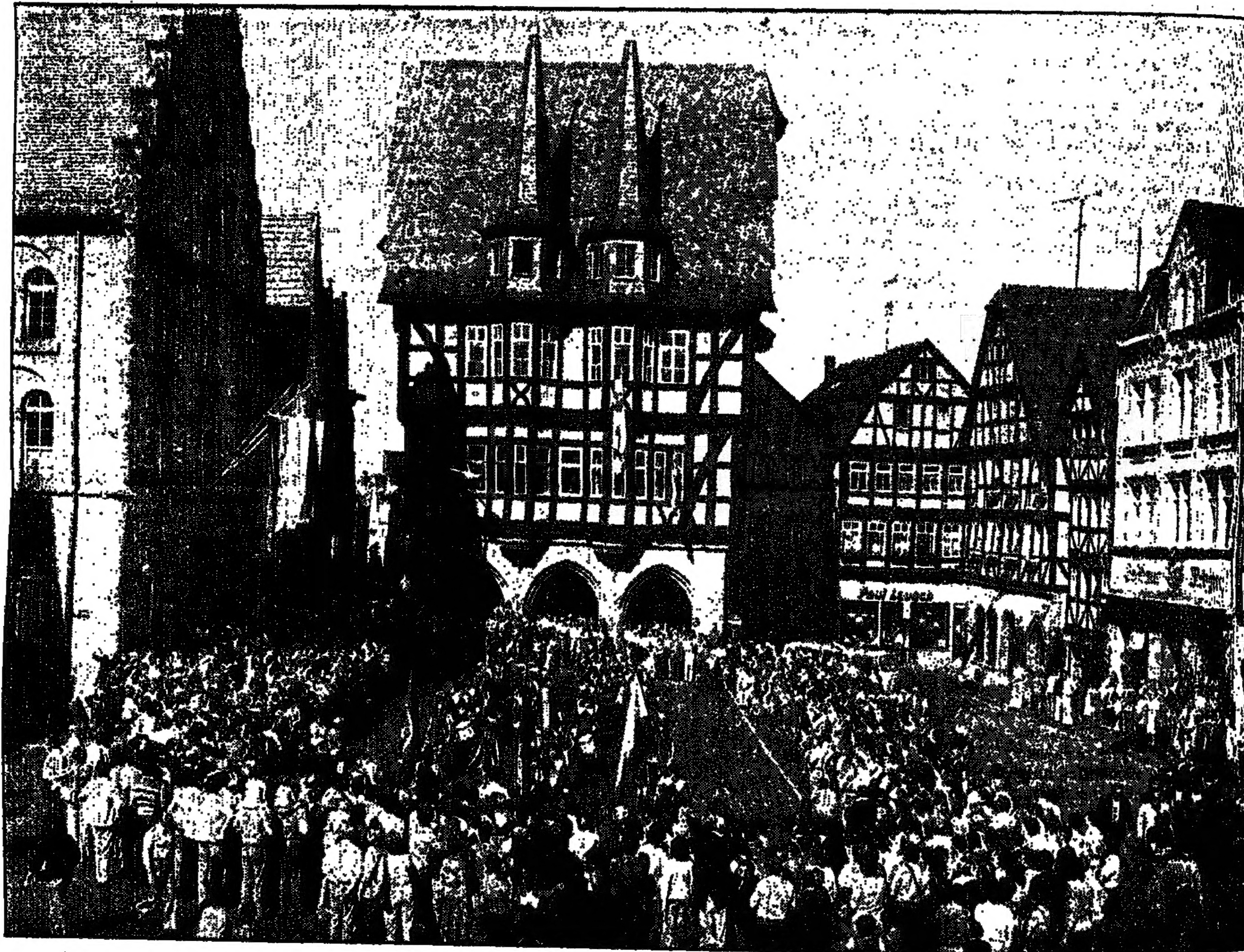
A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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It's true. In Goethe's Frankfurt there is the old Town Hall, dating from the 15th and 16th centuries. But there is also the modern "technical" Town Hall, rather like the Astro-Houston Center in downtown Houston. And there's another in Bonn, resembling a white mountain

peak, ultramodern, like Mont Blanc on the Rhine. But the historic old town halls still predominate in Germany. Have you seen the delightful half-timbered building in Aisfeld, dating from 1512? Bernkastel town hall on the Moselle? The Renaissance one in Lindau on

Lake Constance? Or perhaps the one built in 1484 for the city of Michelstadt in the Odenwald, which looks like a Gothic doll's house or a present bought from an old-fashioned toyshop? You should try it sometime for a change - a trip to Germany's town halls.



Aisfeld

Frankfurt am Main

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-8000 Frankfurt

Sadat death threatens the powder keg

Shock and sorrow are by no means the only sentiments prompted by the death of Egypt's President Anwar Sadat. His death, that of a man who was so hard to end the use of force, has unforeseeable consequences.

A hall of gunfire in which he died, a hall of gunfire aimed point-blank at a powder keg.

The Camp David agreement and progress towards peace in the Middle East are inseparably linked with the death of Anwar Sadat.

He inaugurated the peace process in October 1977 by courageously visiting Jerusalem and maintained it in the face of domestic opposition and opposition in the Arab world.

The Egyptian co-signatory Israel made it too easy for Sadat to stand by his peace policy as resolutely as he did.

At the end of 1977 the world was convinced that Sadat might die, either

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CED OVER BEGIN, WHOSE FORCES HAD suc-

cessively to withdraw. He could offer to the Egyptian people the prospect of regaining all that had been lost in the 1967 war.

In a few months Israel is due to evacuate the eastern half of the Sinai. After the Israeli withdrawal President Sadat is said to have intended retiring from political life and going down in Egyptian history as the leader who had negotiated this success.

Will evacuation now go ahead according to schedule? It is hard to say. In retrospect it is equally hard to say whether any other politician in Cairo could so successfully have played a hand containing little but this one undeniable trump card.

Play it Sadat certainly did, in the face of varying hostility on the part of the entire Arab world.

A number of Egyptian politicians resigned from public life rather than follow in President Sadat's footsteps to Camp David.

This hostility was nurtured mainly by Egypt's western neighbour, Libya. Colonel Gaddafi, obsessed by a pan-Arab sense of mission, was the mainspring of the rejectionist front.

Yasser Arafat's PLO or President Assad's Syria came a poor second to the Libyan leader in anti-Camp David zeal.

Had Colonel Gaddafi ever taken President Sadat prisoner he would doubtless have court-martialled and shot him without further ado.

As it was, after the assassination Colonel Gaddafi's radio station promptly announced, in jubilation, that the "dirty face" had disappeared. This only goes to show how much the Libyan leader hated President Sadat, but it would be going out on a limb to infer that Libya had anything to do with the assassination.

There is no clear evidence to support this claim yet and maybe there never will be. But Colonel Gaddafi certainly has no compunction in assassinating people whose views are not to his liking.

Not long ago he detailed official killer 'commandos' to assassinate in several

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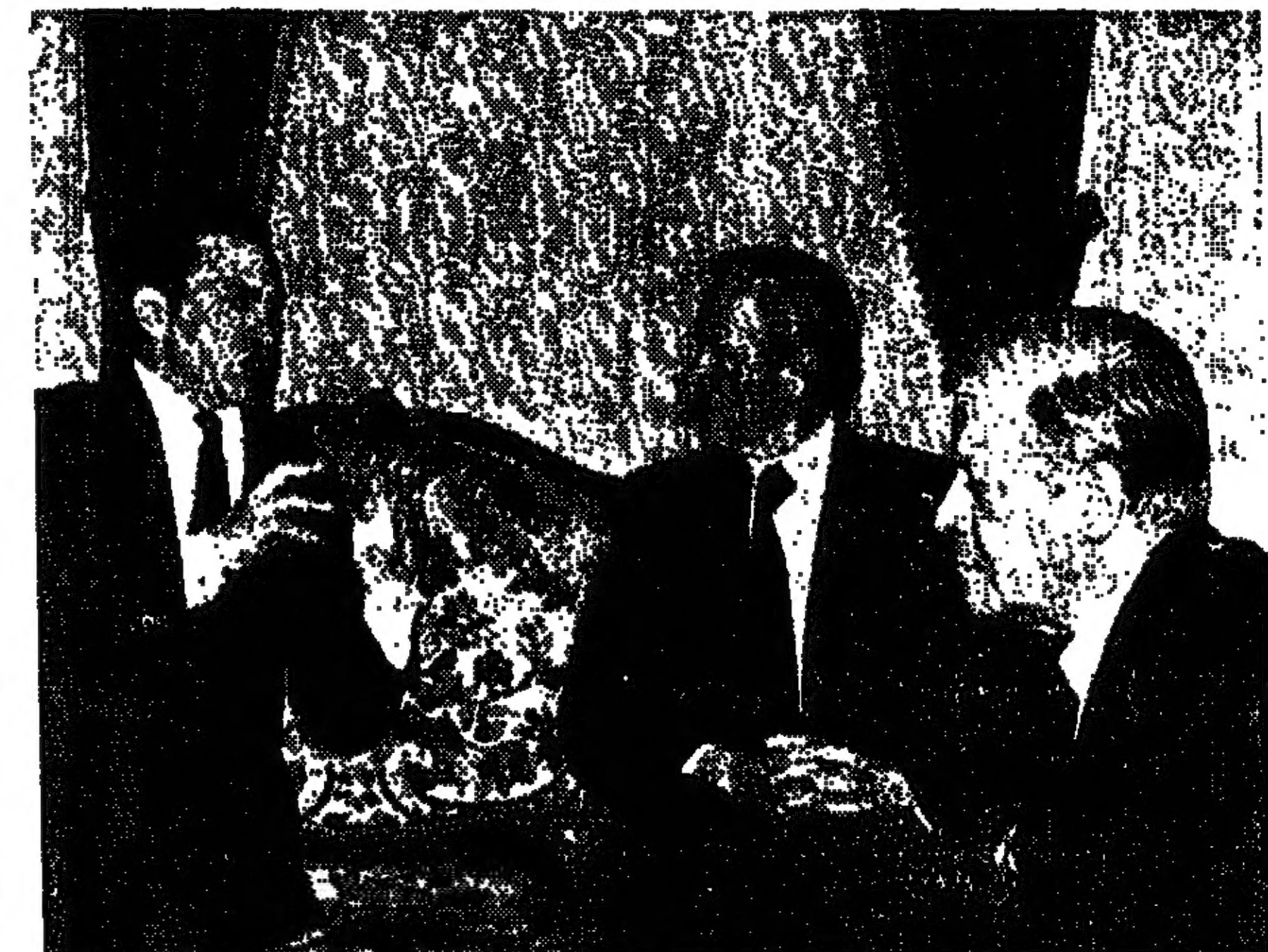
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Mr Hosni Mubarak, who succeeds the late Anwar Sadat as President of Egypt, talks to Bonn President Karl Carstens and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who were in Cairo for the funeral. (Photo: dpa)

Western countries people who had fallen into disfavour. But President Sadat's assassins were just as likely to have been recruited from the ranks of those who were not well disposed towards the Egyptian leader in his own country.

He had just ordered energetic action to be taken against trouble-makers at home, especially militant Moslems. So the killers could as well have fired in the name of Allah as in that of the Libyan leader.



Rustic reflections

They couldn't have got on better together, President Mitterrand, of France (right) and Bonn Chancellor Schmidt at M. Mitterrand's country estate. (Story page 2) (Photo: dpa)

There is no shortage of Moslems who, fired by the Iranian revolution, would take arms in the name of the Prophet against a Mohammedan who made common cause with the Jews.

Which explanation is nearer the truth is hard to say at the time of writing, but there can be no denying the upset the assassination has caused both in the Middle East and over large areas of the globe.

The news was greeted with anxious comments by many politicians and pandemonium on Western money markets.

There have been a number of developments in the Middle East in recent years that seemed to have made peace more distant and not a more immediate prospect.

This seems sure to be so of President Sadat's assassination. The echo is long likely to reverberate to the detriment of peace.

Mr Begin has lost not only a friend but his only ally in the Arab camp. Will Sadat's successor follow in his footsteps in respect of Israel?

And if he fails to do so, will Israel not grow, understandably perhaps, even more inflexible and uncompromising?

The United States stands guarantor of the Camp David agreement. What if feet are dragged in the Sinai, as some commentators already fear?

Might it not be beyond even America's power to keep both sides at one conference table while at the same time setting up an anti-Soviet defence front with Saudi Arabian assistance?

Moscow is, after all, sure to try and capitalise on the new situation.

One question after another comes to mind, and all of them are of greater importance for the future of both the world at large and the Middle East in particular than the identity of President Sadat's assassins and the men who put them up to it.

Reiner Dederichs

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 October 1981)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mitterrand and Schmidt get together
with the personal touch

President Mitterrand and Chancellor Schmidt have hit it off better than many worried forecasts had made it seem possible.

At Latché, M. Mitterrand's country estate, they found time to get to know one another. They were on cordial, first-name terms when they met the Press.

Herr Schmidt was relaxed and cheerful. So was his host. It was clear as they chatted and strolled round the estate how relieved they were to have made friends.

It seemed somewhat improbable after the proverbial ties of personal friendship between the Chancellor and M. Mitterrand's predecessor, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

Herr Schmidt seems from the start to have assessed President Mitterrand more accurately than many a pundit well versed in the French Socialist leader's life and work had done.

So on his first visit to M. Mitterrand after the campaign support he lent his opponent, M. Giscard d'Estaing, Herr Schmidt instinctively dealt with his host as a Frenchman and a statesman.

It was, in the circumstances, a surprisingly free and easy encounter, and the Chancellor was well advised to steer clear of any temptation to sound out

Socialist or Social Democratic views held in common.

This was what Willy Brandt had done, with growing perplexity. Even worse, he might have tried to explain why he had taken one course of action or another in the past.

Had he done so, the personal relationship between Helmut Schmidt and François Mitterrand could not possibly have developed as it has.

When M. Mitterrand took office as French head of state he took on a new role, changing, as each passing day has shown, from a party leader to the President of France as a whole.

At least half a dozen of his Ministers have undergone similar changes, especially left-wing socialist Jean-Pierre Chevènement at Research and Technology and Defence Minister Charles Hernu.

M. Chevènement has taken to rephrasing management statements on behalf of nuclear power, while M. Hernu is reported to have made comments that would have done a right-winger proud.

M. Mitterrand has taken to disregarding points that were once, either in speech or in writing, firm features of the Socialist manifesto.

He is evidently undismayed that this change has upset many of the idealistic young Socialists, many of them teachers, who make up more than 100 members of the new National Assembly.

There is no longer any mention of the moral aspects of arms exports and of possible export restrictions; they would wreak havoc with job creation schemes.

The nuclear power programme has been taken over virtually lock, stock and barrel from the previous government. There is no longer any mention of the referendum envisaged in the Socialist Party manifesto. Industry needs power, so there it is.

Conscription has not been cut, the underground nuclear test programme is to continue and M. Mitterrand has gone all out in favour of Nato missile modernisation and against the Soviet Union.

The Gaullist cult of maintaining an independent French nuclear deterrent has likewise been maintained.

Yet M. Mitterrand has made good without delay a number of campaign promises: to abolish the death penalty, to decentralise government, to nationalise major industries and to carry out all manner of welfare measures.

But he has set aside everything that

he felt was party-political ballast in relation to his task of representing French interests to the world and, at times, himself.

General de Gaulle likewise once misled the French he would hold on to Algeria even though he had long said he would have to grant it independence.

Some may call it lack of principle, opportunism. Others may see it as a vice to the nation or looking after riding interests. It is certainly proof for strategy over tactics.

As did the General, President Mitterrand rates visions more highly than realities that can be seen with the eye, and policies of this kind are not sustainable without a modicum of ruthlessness.

In this M. Mitterrand differs from predecessor, M. Giscard d'Estaing, who all too often wanted to keep every Social Democrat.

Helmut Schmidt has to defend himself from attacks on all sides in the Bundestag and in the Bonn Bundestag. When he takes prompt action he is accused of authoritarianism. Who could blame him for glancing enviously across the Rhine to neighbouring France now and again.

France is different, politically and culturally. There once was a time when Herr Schmidt judged France by the yardstick of his own political views, as he dubbed *le Feldwebel* for his political views.

Now that he accepts the French conditions for what they are, he is simply "Helmut" — first for Giscard and now for Mitterrand.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 October 1981)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Government looks for
the compromise

250,000 people are estimated to have turned out in Bonn to demonstrate the deployment of nuclear weapons.

Despite the size of the rally, there was no violence. Speakers, including both coalition parliaments and trade unionists, called for nuclear disarmament in both Western Europe.

The peace movement's opposition to the modernisation and negotiation of all too often wanted to keep every Social Democrat.

On the one hand, the government is to its obligations in the Western world. On the other it has to try and satisfy disarmament demands by the SPD.

Since 1979, when, in a majority SPD congress approved of the motion, there has been growing tension within the party to the environment in Germany of American missiles should be hoped for new Soviet SS-20 missiles.

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■ POLITICS

Schmidt and Brandt unbury the hatchet

Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt have finally unburied the hatchet they interred in 1974. The Chancellor has taken up the challenge which he feels is represented by Herr Brandt's bid to accommodate as wide a range of views as possible within the party.

Herr Schmidt can rely on a widespread malaise among traditional Social Democrat voters who view with growing suspicion and lack of understanding Herr Brandt's bid to canvass support from young voters attracted by alternatives to the established political parties.

This malaise among traditional SPD voters was to blame in no small measure for the Social Democrats crushing defeat in the Lower Saxony local government elections.

The clash between Chancellor Schmidt and SPD chairman Brandt is a conflict within the SPD that has gone too far to be settled by the usual compromise formula.

The Chancellor is worried about the party's ability to retain power in Bonn until 1984 and the end of the present Bundestag's term.

The Social Democrats, he feels, must rely on the trade unions and on the Free Democrats' readiness to continue in joint harness with the SPD for support.

Herr Brandt, in contrast, is worried about party unity and the future of an SPD the wings of which are extended increasingly far apart.

The Chancellor thus acts as a head of government who has to demonstrate energetic leadership or else jeopardise both his reputation and the coalition with the FDP's Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The SPD leader, who for a long time saw his role as that of giving the Chancellor backing, is now concentrating on the party, which is threatening to come apart at the seams.

This state of affairs is the result of adverse political developments, either self-imposed or external, and it is a serious threat.

Herr Brandt is admittedly motivated in part by a desire for harmony that at times makes him paper over contradictions with nebulous turns of phrase.

This he does both to conceal them from himself and to from the public.

As a party leader he does not, in any case, feel in a position to simply write off certain groups, let alone to scare them off.

In the days when he was both SPD leader and Bonni Chancellor he succeeded in gaining the support of a majority of the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition, Germany's counterpart to the class of '68. They were not alone in being won over for what; in the final analysis, was the state and the existing system of government; in the 50s the Social Democrats had successfully integrated the nuclear protest movement.

Herr Brandt is not motivated solely by sentimental memories. It takes little more than elementary arithmetic to realise that if the SPD is to continue polling over 40 per cent it cannot afford to dispense with the votes of the younger generation.

At the same time the Social Democrats cannot afford to dispense with the traditional voters either.

What the SPD leader is attempting to do is no less than to regain for the con-

ventional democratic spectrum the support of a younger generation that is sick and tired of established party politics.

It remains to be seen whether he will succeed, especially as the Lower Saxony polls showed that it is not an attitude shared by traditional SPD voters.

They are increasingly less keen because Bonn politics has steadily less to offer them in each and every sector.

The days of welfare bonanzas are over, and unemployment hits SPD supporters hardest.

Foreign policy holds forth little hope of respite either. Talks on arms limitation may have been resumed by Washington and Moscow but it remains to be seen what headway they will make and whether detente stands any chance of a fresh lease of life.

It is not the sort of time for new ventures and experiments. They call for a general feeling of ease and liberal sentiment; whereas the prevailing feeling is a sense of crisis.

The current trend calls for clear political leadership.

This is very much in keeping with Chancellor Schmidt's temperament. Unlike Herr Brandt, he is not predisposed towards allowing his subordinates a long leash.

Besides, he may be assumed to be working on the mark he hopes to mark in history. If he has to step down, he will want to step down fighting.

The determination with which he seems intent on ending disputes within the party is partly because he has realised, in his heart of hearts, that his career is over.

The Chancellor is no longer canvassing for majority support within the SPD. He is no longer on the lookout for compromises. He seems hell-bent on confrontation.

The Free Democrats, as was only to be expected in view of the big peace demonstration in Bonn, felt duty-bound to outline their views on peace policy too.

Left-wing Free Democrats in the Bundestag, following in the Social Democratic left-wingers' footsteps, collecting signatures in support of the demonstration.

That forced the FDP leadership's hand and obliged leading Free Democrats to draw up a party line on the issue.

West Berlin FDP national executive committeeman William Borm, 86 and still well left-of-centre, made an impassioned appeal to the rank-and-file to take part in the demonstration.

It was an appeal expressly aimed to collide with the policy pursued by SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and his FDP deputy, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

In a letter to 1,600 FDP office-holders Herr Borm criticised Herr Genscher for not refuting allegations that he had been giving the Christian Democrats the glad eye. "What has been lacking," he wrote, "is a word of clarification by the FDP leader going over and above the cliché of determination to maintain the SPD-FDP coalition in Bonn until 1984 and including events that have occurred in recent weeks."

It is the beginning, as it were, of a Luther-style final bow modelled on Luther's famous words "Here I stand I can do no other."

If he is forced to resign he will blame the Social Democrats in general, and particularly the left wing, Willy Brandt, in particular.

Thus the power struggle between the two, which could so easily end in the ouster of the current Bonn coalition, assumes almost tragic proportions.

Under pressure from political responsibility in Bonn the clash is already serious. It needs little imagination to envisage what might happen to the SPD in opposition.

The Social Democrats, a party claiming to represent the interests of the people as a whole and not merely one social group, would tear themselves to shreds.

Joachim Worthmann
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 October 1981)

SPD unveils plan to brighten up the party image



The Social Democrats have decided on some structural changes to improve their tarnished public image.

SPD business manager Peter Glotz announced details of a seven-point programme in Bonn after a two-day conference of party officials.

• Fifty per cent of directly elected conference delegates at sub-regional level are to be either labour representatives or works councilmen.

• Gatherings such as the Peace Forum are to become an established feature of party organisation to enable the SPD to enter into debate with political opponents and members of the public.

• In a media-dominated society it was important to consolidate party work at local branch level, so next all SPD sub-regions are to run seminars open to

young people (not necessarily members).

• The SPD is to launch a Dröschel award scheme to party-political good conduct on above clashes over power. The award will be for the most convincing of credibility in party life.

• A pilot project is to be undertaken to see whether selection procedures within the SPD might not be a more effective means of screening major holders such as burgomasters and

• A historical commission is established to draw the party's roots to dates and developments, with reference to regional and local history.

• Interest groups within the SPD no longer to be organised from top national level in a uniform manner; there are no plans to discipline away existing interest groups, such as Young Socialists.

(Die Welt, 6 October)

Free Democrats put the left foot forward

Herr Borm called on Free Democrats to renew the coalition from the grass roots up and sounded a warning note against thoughtlessly jeopardising SPD-FDP ties.

Ensuring that the peace was kept and pursuing reform policies aimed at extending freedom remained original objectives it was worth continuing the coalition for, he wrote.

This latest move by Herr Borm was ignored by the party leadership, which decided no comment was best. But FDP leaders felt they now had to clarify party policy on the controversial peace demonstration.

A platform debate on the subject was planned to be attended by Herr Genscher, by FDP Bundestag leader Wolfgang Mischnick and by FDP general secretary Günter Verheugen.

Herr Verheugen said the specific aims of the Bonn demonstration did not tally with the peace policy pursued by the

SPD-FDP coalition government in Bonn.

Free Democrats who chose to part ought not to make light of the fact that the party was fully in favour of policy pursued by the Bonn government.

So Herr Borm as an FDP deputy was told to see himself as cut off from his party, but this was unlikely to dissuade all FDP members the Bundestag from vying with left-wingers for voters who might prove of this demo.

There remained the temptation to roughshod over the difficulties by simply saying that there could be no wrong in demonstrating for peace.

Günter Huinker, Minister of State the Chancellor's Office, told the delegates that it was less the desire for peace than a suitable choice of means by which to keep the peace that was at issue. The Bonn demonstration gave rise to fears that the West's position was weakened and the East's to be strengthened when it came to safeguarding peace.

The SPD Chancellor and the leaders thus agree on this point: there are a wide range of views in respective parties.

Politicians seem to be making weather of their trade at present.

Peter Glatz

(Nordwest-Zeitung, 2 October)

PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Erhard Eppler, the rebel with a cause



Peter Glatz... revealed the... (Photo: ...)

When Helmut Schmidt called on Willy Brandt it was one of the two held before meetings of the SPD leadership.

Brandt, the SPD leader, then had with Erhard Eppler, the Baden-Württemberg SPD leader and national committee member.

It was not a routine encounter. It was specially arranged by Herr Brandt to defuse the clash between Schmidt and Eppler.

It is a clash that is proving increasingly welcome for the Social Democrats, reflecting, as it does, the clash of opinion among the SPD leadership in

despite Herr Brandt's proverbial stance as an integrating factor in the party, he seems unlikely to succeed in pulling the two sides this time.

Erhard Eppler has grown too wide to be held by powers of persuasion, no matter how convincingly argued.

Erhard Eppler has for some time been seen as a counterweight to Helmut Schmidt in the SPD.

He does more than espouse views opposite to those held by the Chancellor, ranging from armament and economic growth.

He aims to establish majorities in the SPD for issues that did not pre-empt command them, as he puts it.

Admission with such ambitions will

be well aware of what he is letting himself in for: controversy, confrontation and conflict.

Herr Eppler says of himself that he has developed from an adaptable young politician, who was only too willing to adapt, into an increasingly obstinate and perverse individual.

So he knows he may be in for trouble and frankly admits: "I have given up playing safe and making sure I have cover. I am simply not going to go to the trouble any longer."

Not for nothing is he at odds with, or at least a controversial figure within, the SPD leadership, especially for speaking at the Bonn peace demonstration.

But he is no longer worried. He feels he has gained a degree of inner freedom by quitting the higher echelons of political power, and this freedom makes him feel able to take criticism.

Away from the hue and cry of political power at the centre he has undergone his latest change, the latest phase that has made him what he is today.

It is an unusual development for a politician and that is what foxes and disconcerts many people who fail to see why he has made the change (and have no intention of trying).

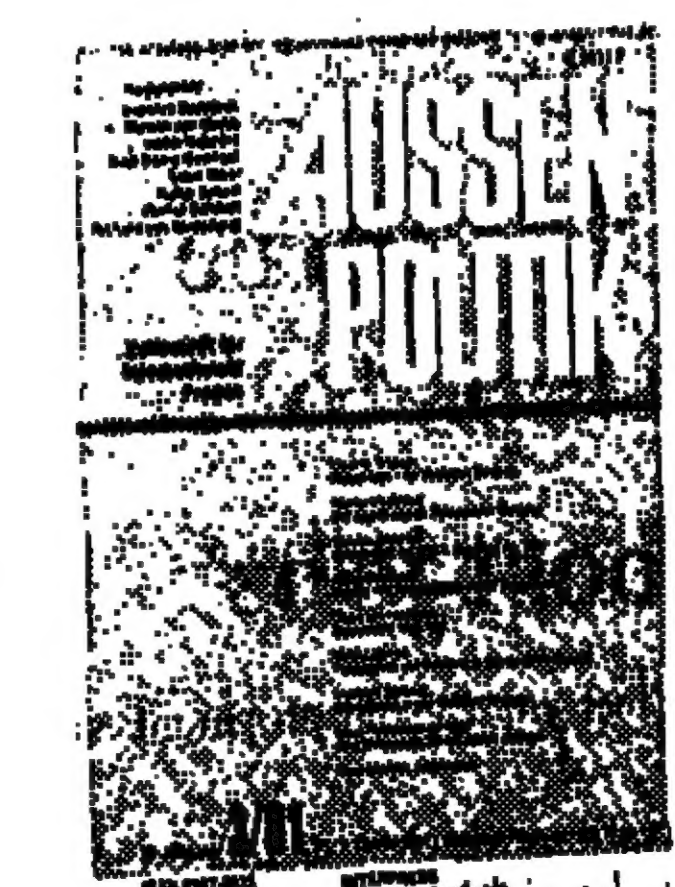
Many people feel he is an entirely different person from the one he used to be, but in reality he has always had the makings of what he is today, although the characteristics were less marked be-

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cause there was no reason why he should change.

He comes from an area in the south-west where the Black Forest slowly gives way to the bare hills of Swabia, from Dornstetten, a holiday resort of 6,000-odd people, an old church and a few fine half-timbered buildings.

His home is on the outskirts of town, in a large garden. But this part of the world is not very fertile and the people who come from it have a reputation for being stubborn and having minds of their own.

It is also an area where it is easy to be alone, and there can be no doubt that Swabia has made its mark on Erhard Eppler.

As he himself once said, his family traditions include those of a Liberal vicarage and a poor hill-farming family.

It is not just the family; he has so many hallmarks of the typical Swabian. Like many a Swabian poet and philosopher, he has long combined analysis and vision, reality and utopia.

What is more, the older he gets, the more this ability seems to govern both how he thinks and how he acts.

Personal experience has also made its mark on him, of course, especially his term at the Economic Cooperation Ministry, where he was confronted with the Third World and the catastrophes that threaten mankind.

Eppler was constitutionally disposed towards delving in greater detail into the misproportions to which development aid testified and feeling greater concern that others might have done.

Above all, he was not the man to come to terms with a state of affairs, so it is hardly surprising to find him pre-facing his latest book *Wege aus der Gefahr* (Ways Out Of Danger) with the words penned by fellow-Swabian Friedrich Hölderlin:

Nah ist und schwer zu fassen der Gott. Wo aber Gefahr ist, wächst das Rettende auch (God is near yet hard to grasp, and where danger lurks, salvation too is nigh.)

A reference to his first book, published in 1968 and entitled *Ende oder Wende* (End or Turning Point), may possibly clarify what he means.

"We all pride ourselves far too much," he wrote, "on being realists. We just smile at dreamers."

"True, there is no responsible way round reality. True, wishful thinking is sure to avenge itself."

"Yet realism alone is stale when taken on its own and not exposed to the tension of utopia."

This frame of mind answers in advance the question Eppler poses, whether salvation is nigh or hope can still be said to exist.

Danger, even of apocalyptic proportions such as are conjured left, right and centre, are no longer mere strokes of fate, inevitable destiny.

They are threats, with which we can deal the better, the more level-headedly we see them for what they are and the fewer the illusions with which we tackle them.

With this frame of mind it is only logical for politics to end when there is no longer any choice and no more argument about alternatives.

As he sees it, there are always alternatives. They must merely be plausibly set out. There has to be someone who puts them forward.

He feels the prevailing political system has degenerated because it has capitulated entirely to the ideology of *Sachzwang* or objective necessity of pursuing a specific policy.

This frame of mind accounts for Eppler's opposition to and rivalry with



Erhard Eppler... no short-term solutions. (Photo: Poly Press)

pragmatist Helmut Schmidt and for the function to which he feels obliged to devote himself.

Eppler's criticism of Schmidt amounts, in the final analysis, to an accusation of flogging crisis management to death and lurching from one crisis to the next, ever deeper, and without the slightest perspective.

"My criticism is that what the Chancellor is doing is no longer a policy. It is merely administration for administration's sake."

Eppler admits that Herr Schmidt has been more successful than other Western statesmen with his crisis management, "but it has been no use because no-one was clear what direction was being taken."

That is why he sees the Chancellor as "more of a cipher representing a measure of technological experience retaining no more than a skeleton of reform as a policy."

A key pronouncement of his is that it is not a matter of crisis management instead of reform but of dealing with crises by means of reform.

He feels duty bound to bring about changes in this, Herr Schmidt's policy. He would like to pave the way for a new and better world.

The roots of this ambition undoubtedly lie in Eppler's Protestant Christianity. Not for nothing has he taken on more Church work since resigning as SPD leader in the Stuttgart state assembly and as SPD chairman in Baden-Württemberg.

Nowadays, especially on the SPD executive, he refers more often to his Church commitments than to his political commitment in justifying much of what he does.

Were he not such a staunch Christian and so strongly committed to the Church much of his political work would doubtless be entirely different.

The Christian message, taken seriously, must always entail salvation, and Eppler always seems to carry the conviction of someone who believes in salvation.

Either this or his intellectual superiority is the reason why, especially as he grows older, he runs a continual risk of being intolerant and self-righteous, which makes it difficult to get through to him or to deal with him.

Outwardly, Schmidt and Eppler may be poles apart. In this respect they have much in common, which is probably why they get on so badly with each other.

They are similar in character and clash head-on. They feel they are right and aim to get justice. Both are school-

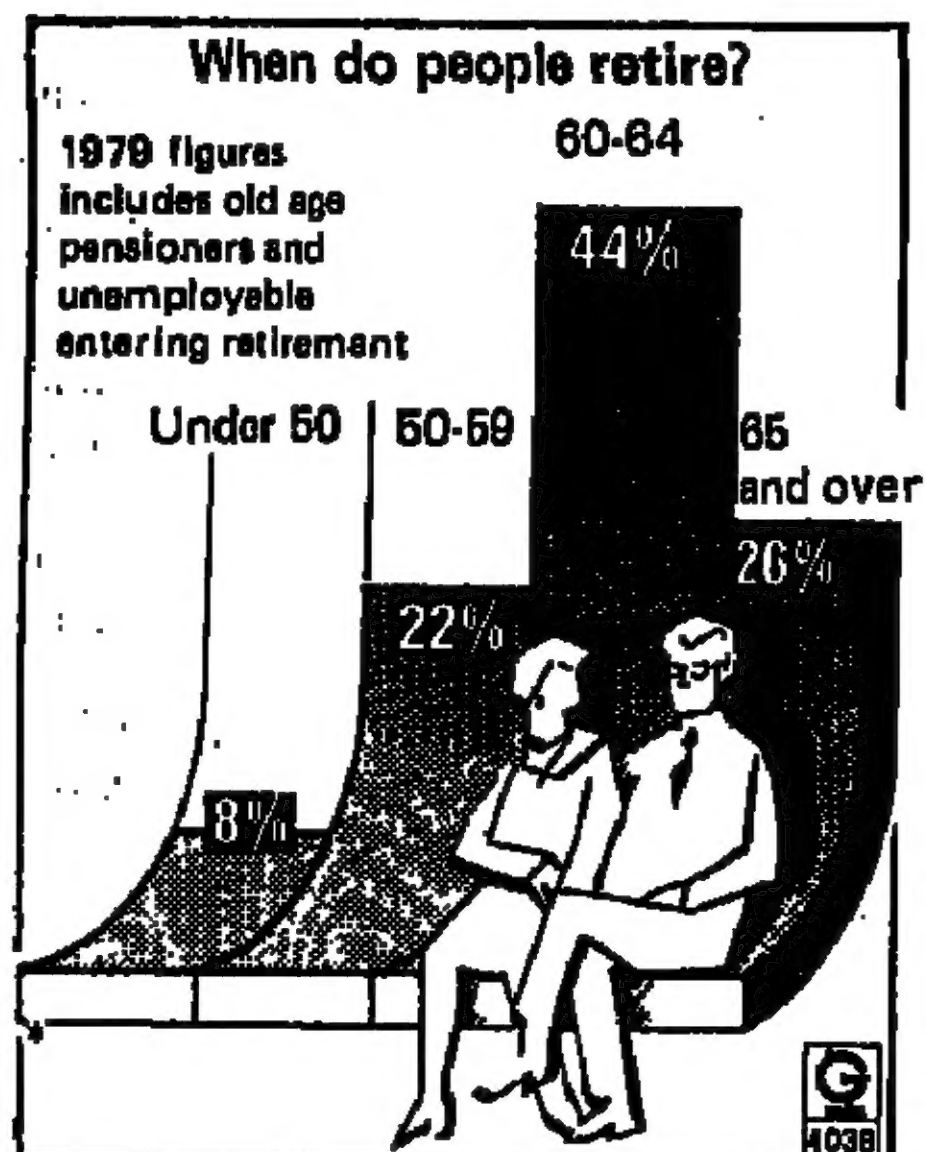
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■ THE ECONOMY

Pressure for action grows as unemployment spirals

Unemployment in Germany is rapidly climbing towards a 30-year high of 1.5 million. The present figure of 1.3 million is 400,000 more than a year ago. Pressures to boost employment are growing. Many SPD members of parliament, supported by the trade unions, are demanding a shot in the arm by the government.

The Finance Minister, Hans Matthöfer, was once himself an ardent advocate of this. Not now.



Towards early retirement

The metalworkers union considers itself in the vanguard of the demand for earlier retirement.

Executive board member Hans Janssen, who is in charge of collective bargaining, says that such an arrangement in the metal industry would affect all other branches of industry and result in an easing of the labour market.

At the moment, he said, retirement at the age of 60 would affect only 131,000 people in the metal industry. This means that the cost to the employers would be relatively low in the first few years.

The metalworkers' idea is for the employers to pay 90 per cent of gross wages to those who are prepared to retire at the age of 60. In addition, they would also have to continue paying social security contributions.

Herr Janssen conceded that shorter working lives could only be achieved by moderating wage demands since the arrangement would impose a financial burden on employers.

"Our members will nevertheless be prepared to pay the price for forgoing normal wage increases," he said.

His optimism was justified by the fact that early retirement would be welcomed by those concerned and that younger workers would approve of the arrangement in the knowledge that their jobs would become more secure.

Moreover, the arrangement would amount to an act of solidarity with the jobless since many a job would become vacant.

The decision on whether this arrangement is to become part of the collective bargaining next year is still pending.

dpa

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 29 September 1981)

There are times, he says, and now is one of them, when the attempt to boost demand by additional public borrowing will remain ineffectual. The additional budgetary problems this would create would cause more harm than good.

Matthöfer is right because the idea that our high unemployment is largely due to an economic decline is wrong.

Assuming that the number of who don't want to work is negligible enough to be disregarded, there are about half a million people who cannot find work because the order books are empty.

The remaining 800,000-900,000 jobless must be seen as a hard structural core. In fact, structural unemployment has been with us here in Germany since the first oil shock.

Without much fanfare some one million new jobs have been created in this country in the past four years. Yet the unemployment rate during this time has never dropped much below four per cent.

This is accounted for by the remarkably high structural "residue" which encompasses groups that in times of over-employment always have jobs and are now unemployable. Most of these people are unskilled workers who now find it almost impossible to get work.

Some research institutes already predict a swift improvement, and even the Bundesbank was quite optimistic in its latest analysis.

The business community has in the past few months spoken of "remarkable progress" in the structural adaptation process.

The anticipated recession this year did not materialise.

But even if the economy is shaping up again, this does not spell the end of unemployment. The labour market always reacts with a considerable time lag.

Business still has considerable labour reserves which will not disappear until industry operates at full capacity. And these reserves are particularly large now

because many companies made a profit of hoarding skilled labour, which is short supply.

But even if the economy were to pick up gradually, there would still be much to do to improve the employment situation.

The main reason is that the people born in the high birth rate years will continue to crowd the labour market, which means that some one million jobs will have to be created by 1987, and this means investing heavily.

But after that time the trend on the labour market will be exactly reversed. Towards the end of the decade Germany will be faced with a drastic reduction in its working population.

The most important task, the Institute for the German Economy says, will be to make up for the lack of human labour by automation.

Only thus can we ensure our production potential and thus our standard of living and social security.

It is obvious that Germany must make a concerted effort to stimulate the business community to invest massively. This presupposes that the burdens of taxation and social security contributions be strictly limited. But the prospects of this happening are pretty bleak.

The government's intention to restrict next year's deficit to DM60bn

Continued on page 7

these days without pay should not benefit the business community only.

To unburden the Federal Labour Office, employers should in the future bear the cost of short-shift work themselves. At the moment, this costs the Labour Office an annual DM1.5bn.

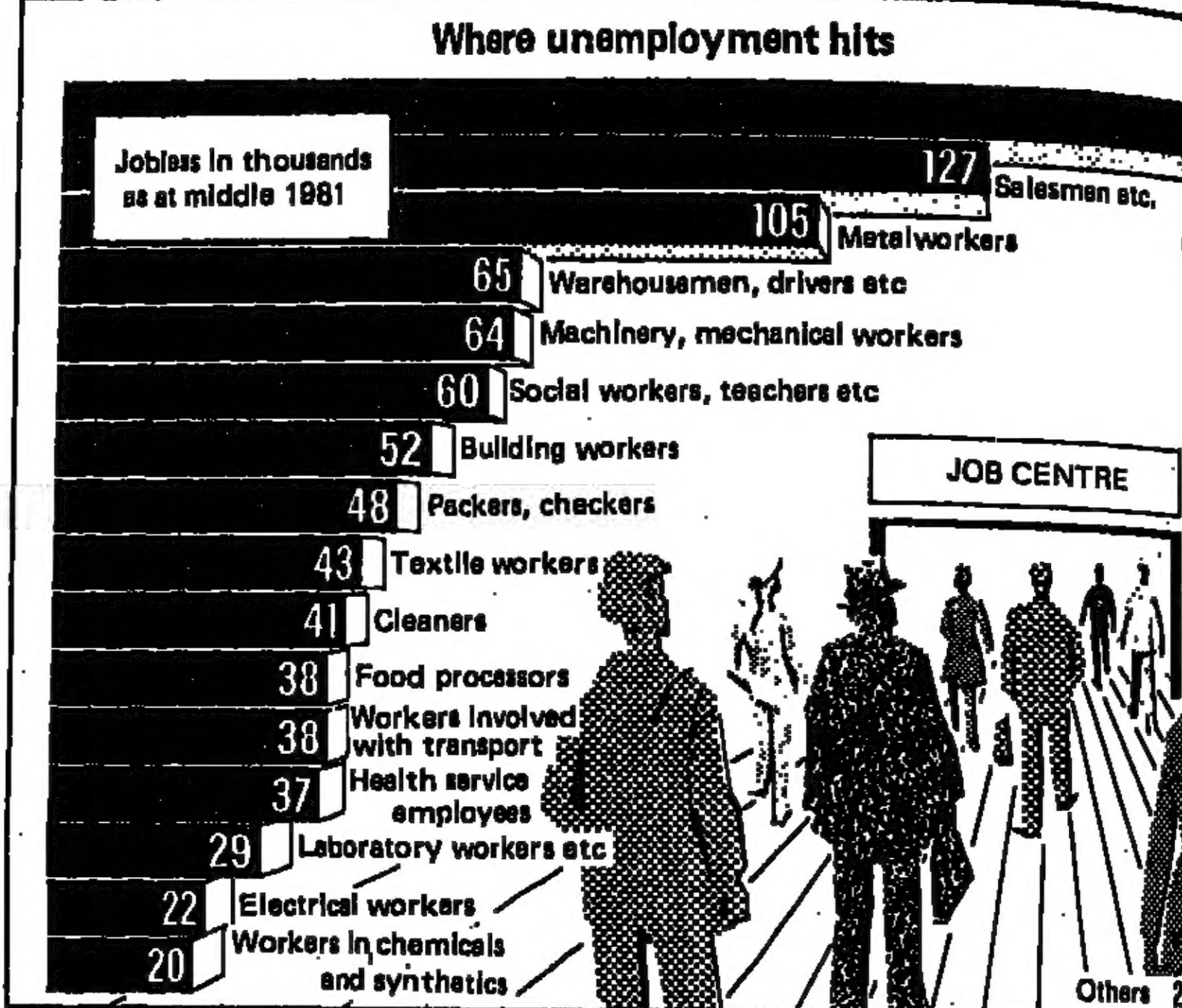
The FDP sees job-sharing as a possibility of providing more part-time work. But this proposal is bound to lead to a collision with the unionist wing of the SPD.

The trade unions have already said that job-sharing would in fact destroy jobs because it would relieve employers of the necessity to maintain contingencies of staff as stand-ins in case of illness and vacation.

So far as shorter working life is concerned, the Liberals envisage reduced pensions for those retiring at the age of 55.

In any event, they give priority to shorter working lives over shorter weeks.

Legal obstacles were to preclude this arrangement for civil servants, the scheme as a whole would be in jeopardy. The idea is that the relief provided by



There is yet another type of structural unemployment: some 200,000 women in this country are looking for part-time work, and they are not very successful.

Experts say that job-sharing could provide a remedy here. The United States has had good experience with this system in which two or three people share one job and arrange among each other who is going to work, and when.

Our trade unions reject the system, saying that more part-time work would destroy many full-time jobs. But this need not necessarily be so.

In any event, prospects are not exactly rosy.

Bonn anticipates 1.4 or even 1.5 million jobless next year (annual average) despite the fact that the economy seems to be picking up again.

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FDP's three steps to boost jobs

have any effect on the employment situation.

The reservation which was put on record during the Cabinet meeting to the effect that the FDP would, if necessary, revert to this issue remains.

In introducing days without pay in case of illness they are thinking of the first three days — it would be important that the new system applied to all sections of the working population, i.e. blue and white collar workers plus civil servants.

If legal obstacles were to preclude this arrangement for civil servants, the scheme as a whole would be in jeopardy.

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because many companies made a profit of hoarding skilled labour, which is short supply.

But even if the economy were to pick up gradually, there would still be much to do to improve the employment situation.

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FINANCE

Washington tones down criticism of IMF

meeting of the International Fund and the World Bank in Washington marked the first confrontation between developed and developing countries over the economic ideology of the International Fund and the World Bank.

Washington administration's attitude towards the International Fund and the World Bank has emerged at the 1980 economic summit in Venice had in mind was to prompt the Opec countries to bear the brunt of the financing of the new institution.

They had hoped that a World Bank subsidiary would enlarge the credit volume although the parent institution's capital would remain unchanged.

This was probably why Britain, Germany, Canada and France favoured the scheme — to no avail. As long as the United States, the world's biggest economic power, refuses to go along, a World Bank energy subsidiary stands no chance.

The United States has already cut back on agreed-upon payments to the World Bank subsidiary IDA (International Development Agency) which grants credit to the poorest developing countries on soft terms.

As a result, IDA is already faced with difficulties.

According to the original agreement, Washington was to have provided 12.5 per cent of the necessary funding.

But due to Washington's delaying tactics, the agreement did not come into effect until August this year.

To enable IDA to honour current and future credit commitments, a number of countries (among them Japan, Britain, Canada, Sweden, France and the Federal Republic of Germany) provided bridging facilities.

But it will be impossible to pay out already envisaged loans if Washington does not abide by the agreement to pay its share in three annual instalments but insists on spreading it over four years.

Even so, America's conservative attitude has met with some understanding at the World Bank whose new head, Tom Clausen, was originally a commercial banker. He succeeded Robert McNamara, who was dubbed a "computer with a heart."

On development policy, Clausen favours a shift towards private investment, thus supporting the American attitude.

Bonn swiftly joined in with assurances that it, too, considers private investment paramount.

But such investments are not suitable in all cases inasmuch as private capital does not necessarily tend to flow into the poorest developing countries and the

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energy problem as a whole cannot be solved by private money alone.

Yet there was no clash of ideologies in the various committees — only some grumbling.

The grumbling indicates that — as usual when a set routine is confronted with new ideas — a review process has set in.

In any event, the stew cooked by the Group of 24 has never been eaten as hot as it was cooked. This group is the militant voice of non-oil producing developing countries.

At one point the group demanded that the IMF be politicised in a bid to turn it into an instrument of development policy rather than a monetary institution.

The concept of giving the Fund's artificial money, the Special Drawing Rights, to Third World countries was one of the group's pet ideas.

None of this was mentioned in the group's communiqué on its Washington meeting.

All that can be distilled from the statement is a certain impatience as a result of the misery following the second oil price explosion.

And in the interim committee, where the group is represented together with the industrial nations and which has a say in decisions on the future of the IMF, the group's position has been businesslike. This is exemplified by its proposal that the growth of nominal demand is to be stemmed by a blend of monetary and fiscal policy.

In fact, both sides tried to be businesslike as possible since neither Washington nor the developing countries want a head on collision.

But this has not changed the fact that they are natural enemies.

The non-oil producing developing countries fear that the Americans, in helping to solve their greatest problem — the reduction of current account deficits which have risen from \$38bn to \$83bn in the past three years — will put the emphasis on their adapting their economies to the new energy prices instead of providing more aid.

What worries the Third World nations is that they would not survive such a rough and ready cure on account of their low growth rates.

This could prove a source of conflict that could become explosive if the Americans fail to understand that there are differences between developing countries and that the poorest of them cannot manage without public-sector aid.

To make this clear to Washington is almost a natural role for Germany.

Rudolf Herit
(Die Zeit, 1 October 1981)

Another thing that calls for a cautious approach is the fact that our oil bill still has to be paid, and we cannot spend the money due to Opec.

The old wage formula used by the trade unions whereby demands should at least equal the increase of productivity plus inflation rate no longer applies. An ancient economic tenet has it that excess supply tends to lower prices.

In principle, this applies to the supply of labour as it does to any other commodity. And — for the time being anyway — there is a glut of labour.

The scales are weighted in favour of capital, which is needed to create more jobs and to provide German industry with energy-saving technology. In fact, capital rather than labour will be the bottleneck of the next few years. And wage policies will have to take this into account.

Anybody calling for more investment will have to guard against policies that will cut into profits. Good profits generate healthy investments and vice versa.

It will not be easy to arrive at a viable consensus with the trade unions on this issue.

A year ago, the Council of Economic Experts said in its annual report: "A consensus on a cautious course will be the easier to achieve the less the workers gain the impression that they have to make financial sacrifices without getting more job security in return."

It is therefore regrettable that the debate on capital formation measures to buttress the wage policy, which could play a major role in defusing the wage dispute and lead to the accumulation of more risk capital, is making no progress.

There has been no progress since then either — and time is pressing.

Paul Bellinghauzen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 25 September 1981)

Without in any way referring to the envisaged energy subsidiary of the World Bank, which has been rejected by Washington, he said that \$3bn had been earmarked for a wide range of energy projects — an increase of 25 per cent against the previous year.

He pointed to Germany's past successes in the field of technical and financial cooperation with Third World countries.

Cooperation in the development sector, he said, must remain help towards self help rather than become a vehicle of foreign policy.

World Bank President Tom Clausen stressed the need to cooperate with the private sector in matters of development aid. He said the private sector represented an enormous source of investment capital and that there was much the World Bank could do in helping to expand the credit volume for developing countries.

Clausen: "We will therefore try in the next few years considerably to increase the volume of private joint financing."

Clausen termed the refusal so far by the US Congress to make already due payments to the World Bank subsidiary IDA (International Development Agency) an honest but dangerous misunderstanding regarding the true function of IDA. He emphatically defended the agency whose work, he said, was extremely efficient.

Clausen called on the developing countries to implement the necessary structural changes which, he said, required suitable political conditions to provide price incentives and boost exports.

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Matthöfer calls for united bid against inflation

Bonn Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer has called for much more international discussion in an effort to reconcile the various national monetary policies.

Addressing the meeting of the IMF and World Bank in Washington, he also stressed the need for a concerted effort against inflation.

High interest rates, he said, had a beneficial effect in the fight against inflation (though they could hamper investment), have a negative effect on growth expectations, cause a disarray on foreign exchange markets and, above all, exacerbate the indebtedness of Third World countries.

He warned against leaving monetary policy in the lurch while fighting inflation. He also stressed the need for many countries to reduce their budgetary deficits.

Hinting at interest rates, Herr Matthöfer said that the reduction in the balance of payments and the healthy confidence in the Deutschmark provided the Federal Republic of Germany with a certain monetary independence that "could enable us to lower interest rates."

Lower interest rates could boost the economy, promote investments and help reduce unemployment.

As opposed to the Washington administration, Matthöfer stressed the need for public sector development aid.

What matters now is to channel a larger portion of this money to the poorest countries that have no access to private money markets.

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Factory turns yesterday's garbage into tomorrow's raw material

An endless succession of odds and ends rolls by on the conveyor belt: half a pair of sunglasses, a packet of sandwiches still wrapped in cellophane, lettuce leaves, a concrete block, pieces of a memo about a dispute with the borough surveyor's office, a broken lamp fitting and an empty champagne bottle.

The garbage does not just look like the contents of someone's dustbin. It is.

The scene is a brand-new factory on the outskirts of Neuss, near Düsseldorf. It is the first full-scale raw-material recycling plant in Germany.

Hellmut Trienekens runs the plant, on an 84-hectare (210-acre) site in the middle of beet fields, as a private company.

He is paid a municipal subsidy of DM20 a tonne to process Neuss's garbage.

He and a staff of 20 sort out 60 tonnes of material an hour that can be commercially recycled from the waste that runs along the conveyor belts.

Sorting and storage cost about DM40 to DM50 a tonne, so Trienekens says he has to earn between DM20 and DM30 per tonne of garbage to operate at a profit.

He designed and built the plant himself. It has twin conveyor belt systems, one for household garbage, one for industrial waste.

It had to be a do-it-yourself operation; garbage recycling plants are not yet available off-the-peg.

Herr Trienekens is confident he has costed the operation accurately. Time will tell. There is little else to go on,

with less than 20 comparable installations in Europe.

Eight of the 20 are pilot plants testing specific procedures on a small scale. Two are in Aachen and Herne and another, full-scale unit is under construction in Herten, Westphalia.

Tübingen and Reutlingen in the south-west have joined forces to build a controversial experimental waste recycling plant, but it is still at the planning stage.

Saarberg Fernwärme AG, a piped heating company, have undertaken to build and run the Tübingen installation provided Federal government subsidies are guaranteed.

But the Federal government has said it will only honour its pledge to subsidise the experiment if building work begins before the end of this year.

Every man, woman and child in Germany accounts for about 300kg of garbage a year. Mountains of trash are accumulating while the price of energy spirals, as do prices of raw materials.

So not only environmentalists but also economists have started thinking seriously about how junk can be reprocessed. Glass manufacturers, for instance, can save 30 per cent on their power bills by melting down broken glass rather than quartz sand.

Substantial savings can also be made by recycling old iron and waste paper. What is more, land is a scarce commodity; rubbish dumps cannot be sited just anywhere.

Incineration, one alternative, has grown too expensive for many local au-

thorities. In Neuss it is said to cost between DM50 and DM100 per tonne.

That is why only a quarter of the country's garbage is incinerated even though the thermal units per tonne correspond to 250 litres of heating oil that could be saved.

Instead, 70 per cent of an estimated annual total of 15 million tonnes of household garbage ends on rubbish tips.

Herr Trienekens is enthusiastic about trash. He already ran six private rubbish dumps when he came to terms with the Neuss authorities in 1977.

His first move was to check what people actually put in their dustbins. He found it was roughly, but only roughly, what previous countrywide surveys had indicated.

Paper and cardboard account for about 30 per cent of the contents, as does kitchen waste. Glass makes up a further nine per cent. Then come metal and plastic.

The dustbin survey was carried out in collaboration with Aachen University, for which it was a research project; for him it was economic bedrock.

Herr Trienekens says recycling plants need to be tailored to suit the waste they handle, and the composition of garbage depends on domestic consumer habits and the categories of trade and industry in the area.

Now he knows what there is to reclaim from Neuss's garbage. Herr Trienekens hopes to recycle about half the city's 135,000 tonnes of trash a year.

He will be doing so using human sorters, sieves, jets and the biological principles on which compost reactors work.

He expects to recycle about half the paper that is thrown away, tonnes; 60 to 70 per cent of the 4,000 tonnes; 80 per cent of the 5,000 tonnes; 2,500 tonnes of glass and 35,000 tonnes of compost. Much of the compost will be used to cover and plant vegetation on rubbish tips.

A useful side-effect of sorting the trash for which no use can be found is shredded, saving space on the tip, about 70 per cent, according to Neuss corporation's Bernhard Wittenberg.

The lifespan of Neuss's rubbish will be extended by five to 25 years, resulting in a further saving of money.

In three or four years Herr Trienekens' plant should be running at full capacity. He has invested DM13.5m in development and equipment, the DM5m paid by the Bonn Research Institute.

The main problem in running a plant at a profit is not so much the processing techniques he and his staff devised, he says, but in finding term customers for the recycled commodities.

This is probably one of the reasons why he is one of the first businessmen to go in for garbage recycling as private enterprise.

"Manufacturers are not quite ready yet," he explains. He and other recycling traders are also working out how they might process part of the output on the spot.

Recycling paper, for instance, converted into a solid fuel component in heating performance with brown briquettes.

This eco-fuel is due to be marketed at the Herten plant much earlier. Herten, where Mannesmann Anlagenbau and Veba are the main contractors, is still being built.

Leonhard Spilhaus
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 October 1981)

ARCHAEOLOGY

Roman secrets halt the march of progress

The road leading to a new section of Bundesstrasse (National Highway) near Ahrweiler, south of Bonn, has been halted by archaeologists.

They look at what promises to be one of the most important Ancient Roman sites made north of the Alps.

It is on a fairly steep slope and when the villa was gutted by fire, probably in the fourth century AD, the ruins were gradually filled with loose stone that rolled down the hillside.

The loose stone kept coming, so that 1,600 years later the ruins were about three metres (10ft) under ground.

The Ahrweiler villa is remarkable in another respect too. Unlike any other Roman remains excavated north of the Alps, all the walls are plastered and painted.

Painted is to understate the decoration. The colour schemes show taste. They are a combination of rust red, dull yellow and black.

A number of painted surfaces have borders, others have ornaments such as painted candelabras and vines.

In the past similar digs have brought to light little more than signs of plaster and painting in the occasional corner of one room or another.

The sheer size of the villa also shows that the people who lived in it were well-to-do. The north-facing front of the house, now fully excavated, is 65 metres (213ft) long. It is about 35 metres (115ft) from front to back.

Outside the main building, adjoining it to the west, there was a bathroom remains of which have been definitely identified. But the bathroom is to be excavated last.

All the indications that have come to light so far in Ahrweiler leave no doubt whatever that the owner of the villa must have been a very rich and senior man in the Roman administration.

Experts rule out any possibility that he could have been a Romanised local. They feel he must have been either a civilian official or a staff officer of the Roman legion stationed in Bonn.

The archaeologist in charge of the dig says he was probably a Roman general based in Bonn. Roman officers were not all rough diamonds; many were urbane and civilised.

So the good taste shown by the Ahrweiler general is by no means out of keeping with his station.

they were put to and how comfortably the people who used them lived.

The remains owe their survival in this condition to their location on the side of a hill, the Silberberg, as the vineyard is known today.

It is on a fairly steep slope and when the villa was gutted by fire, probably in the fourth century AD, the ruins were gradually filled with loose stone that rolled down the hillside.

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One of the finest and most valuable

finds at Ahrweiler is an example of Ancient Roman graffiti, engraved with a stylus in a section of brownish-red plaster.

Qui bene non didicit, carullus esse solet, the scribe wrote: "He who does not learn well will stay a blockhead."

Carullus (blockhead) was a fairly vulgar word, but the smooth pentameter of the verse and the accomplished calligraphy show the writer to have been an educated person.

Let us assume it was written by a father as a reminder to his lazy son. The son was certainly not too lazy to reply. His graffiti is written underneath.

But it is written in such poor Latin and full of such glaring grammatical and spelling mistakes that one can well understand the father's admonition.

It has been deciphered, however and reads: "The whip of cruel Gratius has given me my learning."

These graffiti are a sensation. Nowhere, not even in Pompeii, have graffiti been so completely preserved, or so meaningful.

Other interesting finds in the Roman villa on the banks of the River Ahr include almost unscathed parts of the central heating, a small oven for the housewife or kitchen staff and a larger, dome-shaped ground-level stove that is felt to have been a pottery kiln.

One of the most interesting paintings depicts a man in prayer or performing an act of sacrifice. Alongside him is one side of a larger-than-life figure from the shoulder down.

The archaeologists have only just started excavating the remainder of this wall, so another person making a sacrifice is expected to come to light.

The archaeologists are sure the villa was built in the first century AD, and probably on top of an even older building. It was in use until about the middle of the third century AD.

Then it was vacated, probably in connection with the military response to revolts in the northern provinces of Roman Gaul.

The villa was finally abandoned in the fourth century AD when the forebears of the Germans brought massive pressure to bear on the *Limes*, or fortifications along the eastern border of the Roman Empire in this part of the world.

The building was gutted by fire and the Silberberg mercifully slipped a veil of loose stone over the ruins.

Excavation and restoration will take several more years but eventually a museum is to be built over the entire site, which will then not only be protected but also be open to visitors.

Georg Krieger

(Rheinische Merkur/Christ und Welt, 2 October 1981)

Eppler, rebel

Continued from page 6

teacher's sons. They do not get on with each other at all.

Eppler may be strongly influenced by his rivalry with the Chancellor, but that is by no means the sole yardstick of his relationship with the SPD.

He feels an emotional affinity with Willy Brandt, who in the past has invariably afforded him protection (although not always approving of what he did).

Herr Brandt has always felt the SPD as a party claiming to represent the entire people and not just a single class or group must be able to accommodate a man of Eppler's mould, even in its leadership.

In 1974 Eppler resigned from the Bonn Cabinet, sick and tired of continual slings and arrows aimed at him by Helmut Schmidt.

But he assured Willy Brandt at the time that although he was resigning from the government he proposed to remain entirely loyal to the party.

He would say so today too, since he still feels the SPD is his political home and wants it to stay his home. But the number of Social Democrats who would believe such an assurance is steadily declining.

There can be no doubt that solidarity, the SPD virtue, is being increasingly put to the test by Erhard Eppler. Many comrades prefer not to side with him. He has lately been somewhat out on a limb on the national executive.

But the 1979 SPD conference in Berlin showed there are still sections of the party, especially left-wingers, who are willing to side with Eppler and against Schmidt.

Erhard Eppler mustered 170 delegates in support of a resolution to think again about nuclear power (and to do so with a view to scaling down its development).

A majority of 243 sided with the Chancellor, but as Eppler said at the time: "Not every victory is a winner, Helmut."

Herr Schmidt cannot be said to have won yet. As Eppler also says, when he yields on one point, he does so only to take a stand on another issue.

He is now mustering support for a fresh trial of strength at next year's SPD conference in Munich. The issue at stake is the Nato missile modernisation resolution.

Many SPD leaders, and also rank-and-file members, have begun to suspect that Eppler plans, despite protestations to the contrary, to make personal capital out of the peace movement rather than capitalise on it on behalf of the party.

This suspicion is not entirely unfounded, given that Erhard Eppler feels the SPD is running the risk of going to the dogs in loyal boredom, as he puts it.

So it would be altogether in keeping with this interpretation for him to seek outside approval, especially as he has redefined the concept of power since withdrawing from the corridors of political power.

"Political power is shaped and reshaped at the grass roots where views are created and changed," he says.

This is the power he would nowadays like to share. It is why he feels he is now more powerful than he was as a Cabinet Minister in Bonn.

"Power," he says, "is for me the opportunity of shaping society."

No-one who talks in this way can be a mere dreamer. He is a seeker after power, but counter-power.

Helmut Verfurth

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 October 1981)

Tourists blamed for plight of North Sea ecosystem



Hamburg, called on the Bundestag to save the North Sea now.

Herr Wolfgramm added that: "We must all set aside any idea of allowing the North Sea to be further polluted."

Had the millions of holidaymakers who enjoy their annual holiday on the North Sea coast heard the Bundestag debate they would have been amazed.

They regularly feel the Dutch, German and Danish North-Sea coast is a welcome break in natural surroundings. All that annoys them is the occasional lump of tar on the beach.

Not for a moment do they as much as suspect that they as holidaymakers contribute towards the threat to the survival of the North Sea as an ecological unit.

The ways in which they do so are outlined in the report.

The North Sea is a convenient waste disposal facility it says. Out of sight, out of mind; the amount it has to take is enormous.

Hamburg alone pumps so much sewage sludge into offshore waters that

its annual contribution, in the form of metal waste, is 330 tonnes of iron, 40 tonnes of zinc, 20 tonnes of copper, 10 tonnes of lead and five tonnes of chromium.

It is scant consolation to learn that other countries are even worse offenders. Britain, for instance, accounts for 90 per cent of the sewage sludge that is pumped into the North Sea.

The report concludes that although the North Sea may not yet be in serious trouble parts of its coastal waters and river estuaries are already overpolluted.

So the experts feel the North Sea as a whole is seriously endangered.

There are nearly 50 international agreements designed to protect the seven seas in general and the North Sea in particular.

But more regulations are required on, for instance, pollution offenders who cross from one country or set of territorial waters to another.

There are companies in the Federal Republic of Germany which are no longer allowed to pump their effluent into German waters.

So they send it by truck to neighbouring Holland, from where it is pumped out to sea. So the effect is pretty much the same.

Herr Wolfgramm has taken the time to heart despite coming from a part of Germany that is well inland.

But so far his proposal for a coalition has met with little enthusiasm. After 18 months' digging the archaeologists have not only unearthed the remains of a Roman villa but also much of the walls to be still standing.

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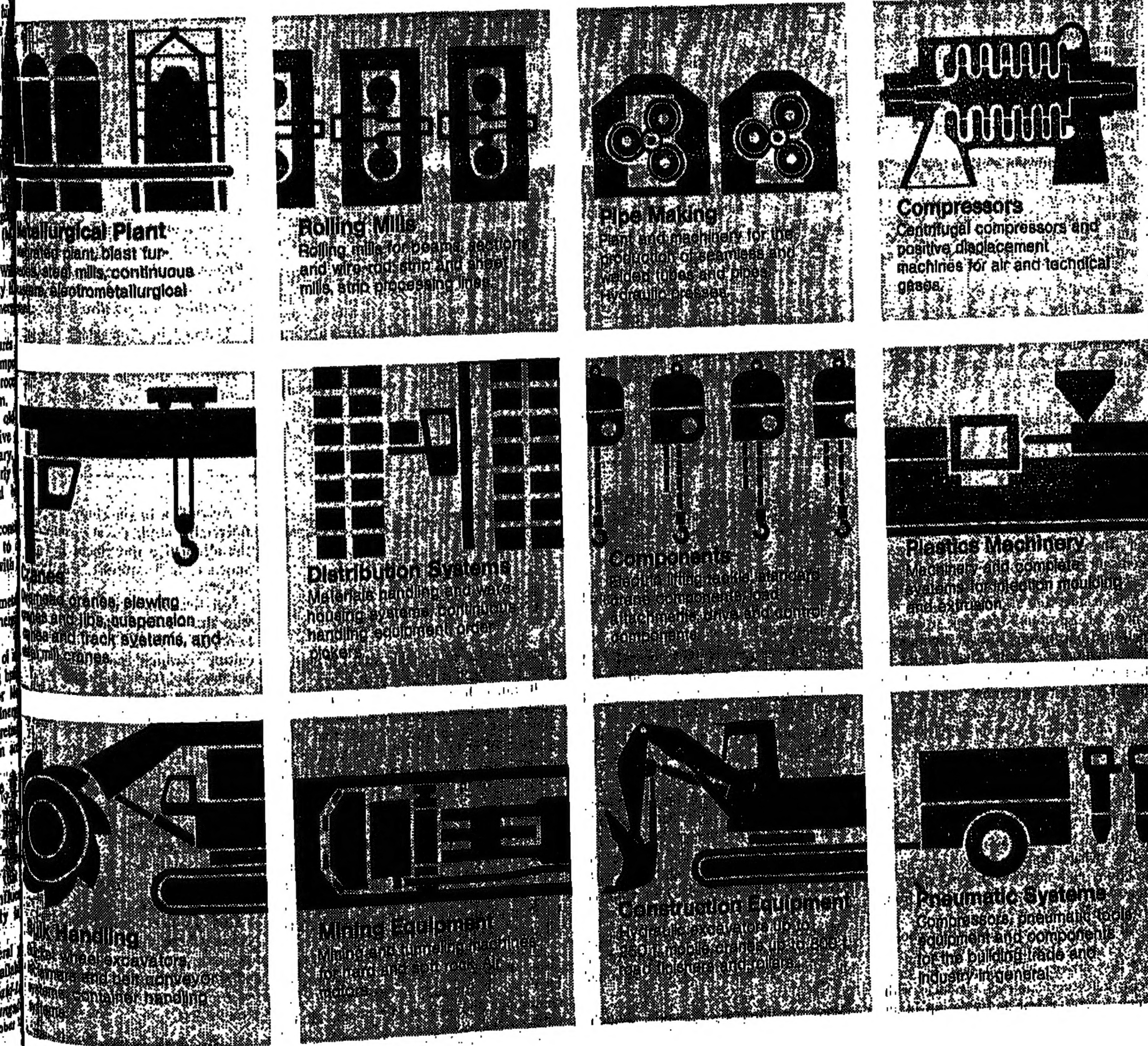
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New thoughts about the human brain

"Instead, the substance is a physiological part of the cell whose function it is to absorb harmful byproducts of the metabolism. If this mechanism fails to function, nerve cells die, leading to a

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 1 October 1942)

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SOCIETY

The day Ma Dhyani found true happiness



During the evening of 26 September, Ma Dhyani had a fleeting feeling of happiness. It came as two ushers carried in the Bhagwan's saffron coloured chair and placed it under the guru's portrait.

The throng of 1,000 gathered in the hall jumped up and started to chant and dance ecstatically, becoming louder and faster.

In front of the crowd 100 people wore expressions of beatitude as they shed their novice status to become full-fledged *sannyasin*, disciples of the Bhagwan movement.

"It's exactly like in Poona. You let yourself go in a common frenzy of happiness. It's paradise," said Ma Dhyani.

The paradise that weekend was not in India but in Erding, a small town some 30 kilometres north of Munich. The followers of Shree Rajneesh here had invited all comers to take part in what they called the Rajneesh *sannyasin* festival, a "nonstop happening" of music, meditation, dance and person-to-person contact.

Close to 3,000 people followed the call in a sea of saffron, red and purple, all of them hoping to experience the feeling Ma Dhyani described as something close to paradise.

But the initiation of the new *Sannyasin* was more like a high school graduation ceremony. The transcendental, meditative and religious aspects were engulfed by what can only be described as a folk festival, complete with ample beer and food.

It hardly mattered that most of the new disciples had never as much as seen the Bhagwan in person. The whole mood belied the contention that it is impossible to nurture the illusions of another life in this middle class rural environment.

It is anything but easy to understand this movement. What did transpire in Erding is that this phenomenon is no religion and even less a youth sect (the average age of the members is about 30) nor is it a form of psychotherapy.

It can best be described as a blend of all these elements, a cross between commune, church and carnival.

Numerous chats with the participants confirm that the motivating force is a "new introspection" resulting from alienation from nature, the destruction of the environment and the feeling of being the loser in the battle against the ills of Western civilisation.

Says Deepam, 24, a former conscientious objector and now an activist in leftist groupings: "You can no longer change the conditions in which we live, so you must change yourself."

The obvious reaction is to look to the East in the quest for an answer to the question of the deeper meaning of life.

But what happens when our own problems and worries can no longer be viewed from the distance resulting from life in another culture?

All these *sannyasin* have little choice but to talk themselves into believing that they are on the right path. They exercise auto-suggestion as a vehicle with which to escape fear and wake up in an

environment that is anything but transcendental.

Now that the ashram in Poona has been disbanded and the Bhagwan has decided to move to America, all the *swamis* and *mas* — male and female *sannyasin* — have returned to a country that is plagued by squatters, the arms race and visions of a Third World War.

Must this narcissistic withdrawal into oneself, this search for "energy" and good "vibrations" not appear utopian and curious to the outsider?

This "total relaxation in here and now," as the best-selling Poona author Jürg-Andreas Elten promises the true believer, this "living for the moment" is tantamount to negating "tomorrow" and all responsibility in general.

The press officer of the movement in Bavaria, Swami Anandesh, stresses that "we are apolitical."

Some sidelights: a man in a wheelchair bogs down in the soft marshy ground. The motor is simply too weak. Many helping hands push him to his destination. There are embraces and tenderness from those who pass by. You can see the amazement in the handicapped man's eyes.

Yemil, 18, became a *sannyasin* at the age of 16. Her mother had opted out and gone to Poona where she remained as an enthusiastic disciple, leaving Yemil alone in the apartment paid for by her divorced husband, the girl's father.

Yemil longed to be with her mother and no longer alone. So she, too, to Poona and became a *sannyasin*. Said she: "We can only help others once we have helped ourselves."

And a look at the cash registers and the stalls shows that they know how to look after themselves. When it comes to economic matters, the Bhagwan disciples most certainly think of tomorrow.

Admission to the weekend festival cost DM45 and a cup of coffee and a roll DM2. And there are many other ways of making money with the Bhagwan such as photographs, postcards and stationery with Shree Rajneesh portraits

Young people who opt out of society to seek an alternative way of life usually do so after a severe family dispute.

A third of those who have joined alternative groupings say their parental home was full of conflict. Half break with the family.

Fifteen per cent of those between 14 and 21 reject the political and social order. But only one in ten approves of violence to achieve political aims.

These are findings of a survey by the Bonn Health Ministry and presented to the Cabinet and the Bundestag.

Conflicts in the home, the study says, are not due to any particularly authoritarian attitude by the parents. They result from the fact that the parents are unable to provide their children with orientation aids — especially in conflict situations.

Most of the young people in alternative groupings have a high standard of education compared with the national average.

Many are university dropouts, though



Discovering nirvana

(DM10 for 50 sheets). And then there are cassette recordings of his speeches and his books (some 350 titles) to be had at a price.

But then, the movement needs the money. It has been charged by the Bhagwan with the task of creating an independent Rajneesh City, an enclave in Rotorange which, as the Bhagwan puts it, will be the "fulfilment of the dream of a better world."

Back to reality: Chaitanya Hari — formerly Georg Deuter, a music critic — plays flowing and crystal-clear melodies on his flute. The listeners, their eyes closed, sway as if in trance. There is plenty of time to ponder what has made the Bhagwan movement so great.

Anandesh, the press officer, has an answer: "The media, with their many detailed depictions of our way of life, our freedom and our generosity."

So is this combination of the interest of the media and Far Eastern laissez-faire the magic formula of success?

In any event, the local authorities took their precautions to stop the anticipated "infringement of morals and prevent sexual acts", as the official warning puts it, threatening fines of up to DM10,000.

But the warning was unnecessary. Nothing happened and the model of a better world functioned so well as to baffle the police.

Dropping out of the family row

there are also some jobless and juveniles who have been involved with drugs.

It must, however, be taken into account that the nation-wide standard of education has improved and that the number of people with higher vocational or academic education has risen from 7.3 per cent in 1960 to 25.1 per cent today.

The study stresses that the alternative movement is extremely heterogeneous.

There are those who want to promote environmental protection and fight what they call pointless economic growth; and there are those who want to fight for civil rights and against "career bans".

There are also elements of neo-Marxism, pacifism, women's lib and gay ideology, buttressed by the squatters, communes and — as of late — an "alternative press".

Deuter's meditation music could be heard outside the tent and there was an all-pervading atmosphere of gentle, peaceful discipline.

So have these refugees from civilisation who have opted out exchanged the constrictions of our Western World for the constrictions of this alternative life?

Why are rationally brought up and intelligent people prepared to sacrifice their lives to a newspaper and writing a book?

Anupam, 44, a former protestant clergyman and now in charge of the group, has a ready answer: "You must leave the movement any time you wish to."

Asked why the movement lacks authority at all, he said: "You must be somebody to guide you. It's like in the mountains where you need someone who knows the way."

The mountain guide is Bhagwan. Asked about the essence of the Bhagwan philosophy, Anandesh said: "You must accept yourself and everything in a positive light."

Chimed in Anorakta: "You must say yes to everything." Another disciple added: "I would accept death and say yes to it."

Achim Zins

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 September 1981)

Lots of possibilities for manager Weisweiler

Frankfurter Allgemeine

manager Hennes Weisweiler plans to return from America where he has served 12 months of his contract with New York

in charge of saying when. "My last year was another year to run," he said. "I can well see myself staying in America."

On the other hand I would like, he says, to be at the World Cup in Spain next summer. I will be at every World Cup tournament to give a lecture to a

group on the advancement of soccer players, which is a topic that he must surely have some-thing to say on the strength of practical

experience. He is also covering the World Cup in the United States, so he would still be under contract to the soccer season will still be in

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deny that he was keen to sign the Cologne star now under contract to Barcelona at one stage. But not any more; Schuster would, he feels, have been another star with whom he would probably have had trouble.

Next season Cosmos, whose stars include Neeskens and Carlos Alberto, will be signing a well-known Brazilian soccer international.

In show biz soccer (Cosmos are owned by Warner Communications) it is less the strongest than the most attractive team that counts.

America's major ethnic groups must if at all possible each be represented by a star of their own. The problem, Weisweiler says, is one of reconciling their playing styles.

Show biz is also a problem for the serious club coach. There are times, he says, when the show is more important than winning.

This lay at the root of the dispute with Chinaglia, who wanted to carry on scoring one goal after another.

This was not to say that US soccer was just light entertainment; it had long ceased to be only that, as was evident from the fact that players such as Bernd Hölzenbein and Ivan Buljan were having difficulties getting used to the style.

How did he feel about losing to Chicago in the final? "Disappointed, of course. We were all disappointed. But I knew Chicago was going to be the toughest customer. They have five Germans in the team and German soccer is

much more unpredictable than, say, British."

Soccer back in Germany? Why yes? he did not mind admitting. It still fascinated him. New York was fascinating too, of course. He had never regretted coming to terms with Cosmos.

Life in New York was an incognito life among friendly people with no commitments weighing heavily on him. But he was too old to spend the rest of his life there.

Weisweiler is 61 and has just become a father. So "too old" does not refer to his family life. It does not refer to his career in football either.

He would be happy to give Bundesliga soccer in Germany another go — "in a country where football is indisputably No. 1 and not, as in America, No. 4 or 5."

He would very much like a job as team manager along British lines, which was more than the corresponding job with a German league club, and certainly more than just a coaching appointment.

Could he imagine landing this job in his native Cologne? Hennes Weisweiler is reputed to be a keen card player. Here too he plays his cards close to the chest.

"I am all in favour of Cologne, of course," he says, "but Munich and Hamburg are fine cities too."

He grins a Rhenish grin to show that he is not yet seriously angling for a job in any of the three cities. There are other cities he has not mentioned, for that matter.

Weisweiler is clearly a master tactician, but he is also no rookie when it comes to strategic thinking.

Later, as we walk round the synthetic pitch in the Giants' stadium, Weisweiler makes a few more general observations.

Look, he says, seating room only. All

stands and no terraces. They should do that back home. Where people are seated there are no brawls.

He spent 11 years coaching Mönchengladbach and felt at the time that the job was absolutely ideal. In retrospect he realised he should have switched clubs sooner and more often.

After so many seasons with a single club one tended to settle into a routine. Everything went too smoothly, whereas one really ought to call oneself into question and make heavier demands on oneself more often.

One ought to have to adjust more often to other people and other mentalities, he said.

New York seems to have done Weisweiler from Cologne a power of good. If he does leave Cosmos ahead of time he will definitely not leave as a loser.

Klaus Wiborg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 October 1981)

never handing a player the ball without a "please" and "thank you." She is demonstratively courteous and an atmosphere of courtesy reigns.

But only in the arena, not necessarily among the audience. The ref always comes in for criticism and Frau Otto reckons she gets more than her fair share.

"It goes in one ear and out the other," she says. Catcalls do not worry her in the least; justified criticism hurts all the more.

This includes criticism from her husband and children, all of whom know what they are talking about. Her husband is a basketball referee, her three sons and a daughter play (and the sons are graded referees too).

They all greatly admire her and the family keep fit together by playing table tennis and skiing, with cross-country runs and gymnastics.

Playing basketball is hard work; so is refereeing it, and Frau Otto enjoys no special privileges, apart from having to run 2,000, not 3,000 metres in her annual referee's test.

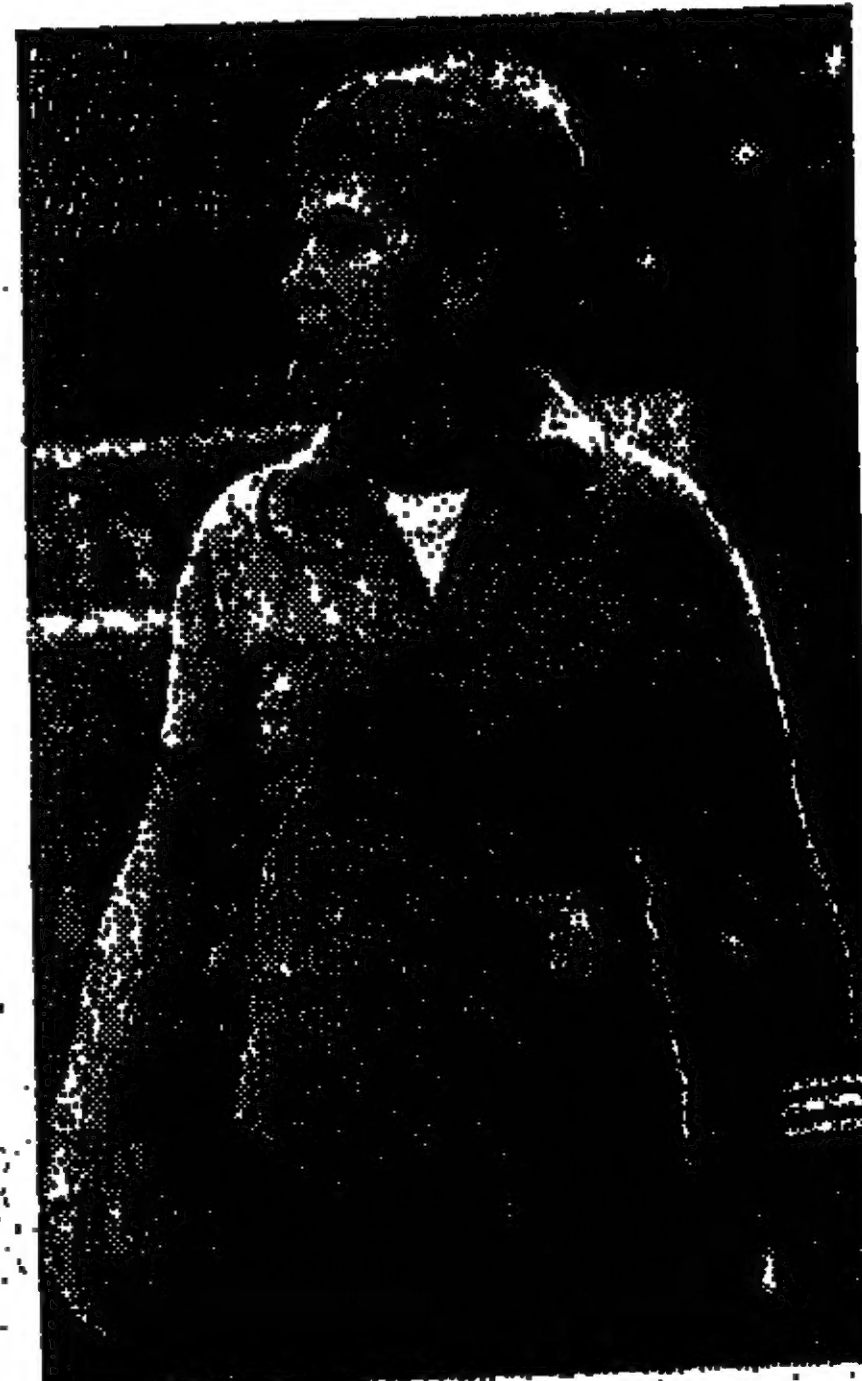
"I find it hard work covering the distance too," she readily admits. This season, her second in Bundesliga basketball, will be her last.

She is 50 (but doesn't look it) and that means retirement for a senior basketball referee. But maybe others will follow in her footsteps.

Christiane Moravetz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 October 1981)

Basketball's lady with the whistle



Silvia Otto... tightrope walk.

(Photo: Horst Müller)

She does little talking and gets little backchat from the players. Instead she gets and gives more looks. "Look 'em straight in the eye," she says. "That's most important."

Most male referees, although by no means all, readily accept her. After a moment's surprise most players do too.

She also sets great store by politeness.

She has to be in touch with the game now my playing days are over" at a time when referees, coaches and players were less given to viewing each other with continual criticism.

But whistling is a tightrope walk. Time and again thousands of eyes look her way and wait for her to blow, either expectantly or fearfully. Time and again she senses the aggression focussed on her.

That goes for male referees too, of course, but she feels even more alone out there: "I am well aware that my performance is viewed much more critically. People are prepared to accept a good showing but woe betide you if you put a foot wrong."

She is probably her own most exacting critic. "I made two really bad decisions today," she says.

Yet the basketball giants give credit where credit is due. "She always takes a clear decision," one captain says, looking down at her (but only physically, not figuratively).

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